From *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1964)
This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

Reprinted from
ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF KARL LEHMANN

Distributed by J. J. Augustin, Locust Valley, New York
Printed in Germany

APHRODISIACA: SATYR, MAENAD AND EROS

A Romano-Hellenistic Marble Group of the Third Century A.D. in Boston

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

It is very fitting to publish a work of Greek imperial sculpture with Dionysiac connections in memory of Karl Lehmann. Among his many interests, this group touches most closely on the publication, undertaken twenty years ago, of the Dionysiac sarcophagi in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.[1] Karl Lehmann was always drawing attention to connections between Rome and Asia Minor in his writing, lectures and informal discussions. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has recently acquired an ensemble which offers in many respects a three-dimensional demonstration of the material with which Karl Lehmann and Erling Olsen were preoccupied in their important study of decorative art and Dionysiac symbolism in imperial Rome.[2]

There are three participants in this "Invitation to the Dance" (*figs. 1–8*). A muscular satyr, with *pedum* or shepherd's staff held against his right shoulder, is led into a circular two-step by a maenad who both taps him provocatively on the right knee and hits him on the top of the head with a (now missing) thrysos or pine cone-topped Dionysiac staff. Her costume consists of a loose chiton which was pinned by a brooch on the left shoulder and tied at the waist with a cord. Once a plinth, of which an antique section survives at the maenad's feet, was wide enough to support a chubby Eros holding a twisted bow in his hands. He was probably placed to the right of the dancing group, in such a way as to be looking up at their actions in infantile amazement, mixed with a note of impending mischief.

There may have been a fourth member of this group and a second witness to the Dionysiac dance. Anteros, probable child of Nemesis, perhaps stood at the left and looked up at the satyr, who would have then been on his left. Alexander of Aphrodisias in Caria writing in the early third century A.D. (Περὶ ψυχῆς—"On the Mind or Soul, or Psyches") describes just such representations and juxtapositions of Eros, Anteros and the larger mythological beings, using works of sculpture to illustrate his points.[3] When the statue was broken up,

[1] K. Lehmann-Hartleben, E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1942. Karl Lehmann had also dealt with the compositional problems of a Silen and maenad, an Archaic terracotta from Medma, in *Antike Plastik*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, pp. 118–122.

[2] Accession Number 62.1; William Francis Warden Collection. The satyr is 0.81 m. high (0.875 m., including plinth); the maenad is 0.82 m.; and Eros is 0.491 m. (0.532 m., including plinth). The group is mentioned preliminarily in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Calendar of Events*, June 1962 and Summer, pp. 2ff.; *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report for 1962*, pp. 30–31.

[3] See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I, col. 1453; P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, exégète de la Noétique d'Aristotle* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XCIX), Liège, 1942, pp. 13ff.; A. FitzGerald, *Alexander of*

perhaps by Christians in late antiquity, the figures were separated from their common plinth, and rediscovery of the group has left no trace of Anteros or the section of marble slab where he stood.

The three figures were found a number of years ago at Aphrodisias in Caria, the erotic writer Alexander's home and, more significantly, southwest Asia Minor's center of sculptural activity in the two centuries from 50 to 250 A.D.[4] They appear to be carved from the finest grade of local marble, and their surfaces were given that high polish so characteristic of important portraits, sarcophagi and decorative sculptures from the middle of the Severan period through the age of Aurelian, that is the eighty years from 200 to 280. The high polish has been replaced by a yellow patina and a heavy brown stain in areas where fragments were exposed to other elements after the group was split apart. Despite extensive repiecing, there are no restorations. The plinth has been filled out to enable the satyr and maenad to dance again, but the only additions to the fragments are the dowels to hold the group together again. The surfaces have been little cleaned and the contrasts in colors, tones and textures are those of the original high polish (white to ivory) and the corrosive effects of the soil.

The effect of the drill is neither so sloppy as in certain Severan sarcophagi from Rome nor so chopped up as in Asiatic or Roman work after the middle of the third century A.D. The broken drill has been used in the hair, but there is also considerable good simple carving on the tops of the strands. Noses, eyes and mouths have been drilled out and then finished off with the sculptor's knife or awl. The areas between the fingers of the maenad have been drilled and finished to give the maximum in light and dark as her hand rests on the satyr's right knee. The sculptor had learned his lessons very well in the traditional sense, for the maenad's drapery is carved in the qualitatively good manner of the Hellenistic period as passed back into the fourth century. The garment, a chiton, almost has the texture of wool

Aphrodisias on Destiny, Addressed to the Emperors, London, 1931, p. 19; W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, 1, cols. 1399ff., especially cols. 1365ff., "Eros in der Poesie und Kunst der hellenistischen und römischen Periode."

Eros, as might be expected, appears on a host of Greek imperial coins of Carian Aphrodisias. They are the quasi-autonomous Antonine and later issues. It is not surprising that one of the few appearances of Eros *and* Anteros in numismatics is on one of these bronzes, a work contemporary with the marble group; Eros and Anteros are playing knucklebones: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Fasc. No. 25, Caria, pt. I, Copenhagen, 1947, Nos. 83–92, especially the last. Statues and paintings of Erotes were favorite dedications in Hellenistic cities; Tralles in Ionia had eighteen statues (*CIG*, No. 2925), and at Sardis one Aurelius Chryseros, son of Chryseros, dedicated "five images of Eros to his well beloved native city." The pedestal survives and is dated in the period of the statue from Aphrodisias: W. H. Buckler, D. M. Robinson, *Sardis VII, Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, pt. 1, Leyden, 1932, p. 100, No. 99. From the man's name, one wonders if the statues were gold or at least gilded bronze or painted marble. A number of inscriptions indicate how much Eros and Dionysos were revered in the city of the Carian Aphrodite: e.g. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, VIII, Manchester, 1962, p. 94f., No. 447 (statue of Claudius by the High Priest of his cult and that of Dionysos), No. 448 (base including dedications to Aphrodite and the Divine Caesars and mention of marble Erotes). Livia had a freedman named M. Livius Anteros Amyntianus (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, No. 4035), but there is no evidence he honored *his* namesake with a statue.

[4] M. F. Squarciapino, *La scuola di Afrodisia*, Rome, 1943. In this publication sponsored by the Museo dell' Impero Romano, she deals also with the city's sculptural activity under Constantine's family and the houses of Valentinian and Theodosius.

or heavy linen, as it hangs from one shoulder, presses smooth over the posterior and falls into heavy ends around the slippers. Eros is as disproportionate in the body as in his puffy face, having an athlete's torso between fat arms and pudgy thighs. His left wing was made separately and attached with an iron dowel; the remains of his right wing grow out of his shoulder. Save at the armpits, there is little of the drill in Eros's body. Delicate drill-holes mark his curly locks, but this effect is one found as early as Julio-Claudian cinerary urns or carved decorative pillars.

That the group stood in a hemicycle niche is evident from the handsome repertory of frontal vistas presented by the dancers; and Eros, wherever his feet were precisely planted, is equally a part of the bodily torsion of a group strung out in one great profile. The blatant parade of supports combined with harsh carving, when the viewer goes from front sides to a study from the rear, all make the ensemble a demonstration of sculptors' subservience to architectural setting, either monumental or immediately decorative. The maenad's cord-belt is knotted at her midriff, and her chiton has folds expressed in front, but the satyr's back has been flattened by a very obvious claw chisel. Eros is finished, but he was partially visible from the right rear. The sculptor must have felt a certain delight in leaving the rough carved rectangles of marble behind the heads of Eros and the satyr.

In this contrast between the front and back views lies a clue to the group's combination of sweeping action and frozen distortion. The sculptor was an artist of the decades when the chief commissions for the chisel were in the realm of decorative relief such as theater balustrades or of funerary art, that is in the production of large marble sarcophagi. This can be seen very effectively by comparing the three figures with their counterparts on the right front of the great sarcophagus from the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, now to the right of the entrance and in the main court of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (*fig. 9*). This sarcophagus dates in the first or second decades of the third century A.D. and is one of the best products of the workshops for such things in early Severan Rome.[5] The relationship between the group and the sarcophagus is more than merely one of coincidental motif; it is the manner in which the carver of statuary has approached his composition as if it were the high relief of an Antonine or Severan Roman sarcophagus.

The Aphrodisian group seems to date early in the second quarter of the third century, but it would not be surprising to find parallels in sarcophagi or decorative carving in the following twenty-five years. The same high polish, effects of the drill, frozen gaze, distortion of proportions, and unbalanced approach to anatomy are found to a greater degree in the figures of the Badminton season sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum. This is a work which has been dated in the years 220 to 235 but which may well have been made a generation later.[6]

[5] *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, L, pt. 5, 1960, p. 12, No. 55, fig.; G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, Harvard, 1924, p. 154f., fig. 185. Two such groups appear, one in mirror reversal, on the sarcophagus from the same workshop and now in the Atrio of the Museo Capitolino; the cataloguers were probably correct in connecting the designs with a Hellenistic painting (see H. Stuart Jones, et al., *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, p. 29f., No. 10a).

[6] F. Matz, *Ein Römisches Meisterwerk, Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Neunzehntes Ergänzungsheft), Berlin, 1958, p. 167: dated ca. 220–235 A.D.

It is not sufficient, in one sense, merely to explain the strung-out distortion of the figures as the work of a sculptor used to carving sarcophagi. The sculptor had an elaborate unconcern for the unseen views of his supports between the figures and for certain parts of the figures not visible from the principal angles. All this indicates a strong subservience to setting, to the niche in which the figures must have stood. This is typical of the sculpture produced for public buildings, villas, shrines and garden niches in the Mediterranean world from 150 to 300. The sculptural model for this group may have been life-size. In the second and third centuries A.D. the colossal architecture of basilicas and baths called for double and triple-sized copies, but there was equally a demand for half-sized copies such as this, to suit small settings.[7]

Although the group considered here is an original creation in its visual effect and in its details, there must have been a Hellenistic prototype of the second century B.C. behind the design. On the island of Tenos in the middle of the Aegean, at the shrine of Poseidon and Amphitrite, there is the base for a group probably in bronze. The artist has signed the lengthy inscription. He is Agasias of Ephesus, the son of Menophilos and a relative of Agasias, son of Dositheos, best known as the creator of the so-called *Borghese Warrior* in the Louvre. The inscription mentions Nike, Eros and Anteros.[8] On the top of the block it is easy to see

[7] On this subject see the present writer's remarks, "Greek Art in Transition to Late Antiquity. A Portrait of the Antonine Age and the State of Greek Sculpture from A.D. 150 to 300," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II, 1959, pp. 16–20. The "museum" aspect of ancient works of art of all types in the settings arranged for them in Greco-Roman times was discussed by K. Lehmann in "A Roman Poet Visits a Museum," *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 259–269, especially p. 268, for a diagrammatic reconstruction.

[8] Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, I, col. 736f.; G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, Munich, 1950, III, 1, pp. 372, 382.

The base is 1.30 m. wide by 0.98 m. deep by 0.49 m. high; it is broken at the back and bottom. The artist's signature is carved by a hand other than that of the original text. The stone seems to be so-called Phrygian or pavonazzetto marble (*Marmor Synnadicum*), from quarries near Synnada in Phrygia (see H. W. Pullen, *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles*, London, 1894, John Murray, p. 65f.). My attention was directed to the base during a visit with Machteld Mellink and Emily Vermeule to Kionia on Tenos in 1960; I had just seen the group from Aphrodisias in the European art market where it appeared after years in a private collection. The top of the base is damaged in such a way that only part of the cuttings for the feet of Anteros on the right are visible.

The inscription is published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptiones Cycladem, Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1912, XII, fasc. V, after P. Graindor, *Musée Belge*, X, 1906, pp. 339ff., Nos. 7, 8 and *idem*, XI, 1907, p. 113. Evidently the group by Agasias, who worked extensively at Delos, was damaged or carried off by Mithradates before 88 B.C. It had been dedicated to Poseidon and Amphitrite by a Romanized merchant Gaius Pandusinus, and the monument was reconstituted, that is, the group was restored or replaced, by P. Serveilius Isauricus, Proconsul of Asia from 46 B.C. His name and titles were carved above the earlier inscription on the base.

The original inscription reads, below the erased top line:

Γάϊος Πανδυσῖνος Γναιόυ υἱὸς Ῥωμαίος
πρόξενος τὰς Νίκας καὶ τοὺς Ἔρωτας
καὶ Ἀντέρωτας Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτηι
Χαριστήριον
Ἀγασίας Μηνοφίλου Ἐφέσιος ἐποίει

There is, from the inscription, the possibility that a statue of Nike stood between Eros and Anteros, although the cuttings suggest the Dionysiac group. The idea has some parallels in sculpture and painting. A small marble group in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, a work of the Antonine period,

traces of the feet of a dancing couple, very likely the maenad and satyr who engage in the dance of Dionysiac triumph. On either side are *two* pairs of little footprints for Anteros and Eros who watch the sport. It becomes very tempting to think the sculptor at Aphrodisias made this group in marble under the inspiration of the now-lost Hellenistic group at Kionia on Tenos.

The Hellenistic design lying behind the Aphrodisian group can be traced back at least as far as the last two generations of the Roman Republic, the last decades of Hellenistic political independence. It occurs in two of the less well-known figures on the Borghese krater in the Louvre. This dancing couple also turns up on the two replicas of the Borghese krater found in the galley wrecked in late Hellenistic times, in the period following Sulla's wars, off Mahdia in Tunisia.[9] The maenad, lightly-draped, as she is in nearly all versions of the composition and as she must have been in the original group (unless she was half-draped), is seen from behind and holds a tympanum instead of the thyrsos over her head with her right hand. The sculptors of these large marble garden urns, for such must have been their purpose in antiquity as well as in the eighteenth century, have adapted the middle Hellenistic fixed axiality of the principal figures in the group to a convex relief surface with the success obviously afforded by the breadth of surface and the heights or depths of carving. The inspiration of the Borghese krater and its replicas probably goes back to the middle of the second century B.C., although in a judgment such as this we are on the most shifting sands of Hellenistic chronology. The kraters' composition and the design for the prototype of the Aphrodisian group can be said at least to have come out of the same desire for experiment with dancing figures of vaguely erotic implication.

The dancing satyr and maenad, with or without Eros and Anteros, have an inescapable connection with ancient painting. The maenad seen from the back and the satyr spinning along with one foot raised, whether seen singly or grouped together, speak strongly of Romano-Campanian painting in the century from 50 B.C. and of the work in stucco associated with houses or tombs from the rule of Caesar to the principate of Hadrian. There might even be

shows a wingless Nike with a bound captive in the foreground and another figure (a personification?) standing at the right. A. Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, p. 581, No. 156) identified the figures as Aphrodite (Capua type) with Eros and, possibly, Psyche, and noted the general similarity to a group in Dresden, a work of very rococo flavor having no real bearing on the problem (see S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, I, 1897, p. 351, No. 5). A medallion of Caracalla shows the possibilities of Nike and Erotes in Hellenistic painting (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, New York, 1944, p. 223); Nike, or the Roman Victoria, supports a vota shield in the manner of the Victory of Brescia and is surrounded by a throng of Erotes, waving palms. In no example of ancient art, however, does Nike dance with another figure, and Anteros seems hardly happy company for Nike, despite the inscription on Tenos. A relief, possibly of Eros, Anteros and Nike behind, in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican is too reworked to be of help: G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1956, III, 2, p. 219f., No. 84, pl. 101. On Eros and Anteros, see E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 125ff.; *idem*, "Der gefesselte Eros," *Oud-Holland*, L, 1933, pp. 193–217, especially pp. 193–199.

[9] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2d ed., New York, 1961, p. 184 and full bibliography in n. 104, fig. p. 166; W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs*, (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Zwanzigstes Ergänzungsheft), Berlin, 1959, pp. 108ff., especially p. 116, pl. 25. The Mahdia kraters are now in the Musée Alaoui-Bardo in Tunis. Fuchs announces a detailed publication: W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Bilderhefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom, No. 2), Tübingen, 1962.

a question as to which came first, the motif in painting or the Hellenistic sculptural composition copied in the group from Aphrodisias. It is almost impossible to pin down the precise origins of a common motif interacting through the years from one medium to another. Two thousand years from now who will be able to say which came first, Martin Schongauer's *Flight into Egypt* or the monumental painted wooden groups copied from the graphic design when it reached Spain about 1500.[10]

There are some surviving evidences that the Dionysiac design of this dancing satyr and his ecstatic companion passed about the Mediterranean world, like so many other classical compositions, Orpheus or Ganymede designs for instance, in the copybooks of decorators in fresco and mosaicists. Two paintings from Pompeii show free versions of the design and like the kraters or the Farnese-Gardner sarcophagus both feature half-draped maenads.[11] A mosaic from Sousse in Tunisia, evidently work of the second or third centuries A.D., exhibits various dance steps performed by satyr-nymph combinations in diamond-shaped frames of foliage tied together top and bottom with bearded masks. One at the lower right of this ensemble is particularly close to the Aphrodisian design.[12] The same motif occurs as one of the octagonal vignettes in the Dionysiac mosaic at Cologne. In this late Severan work, the vignettes are each of two-figured Dionysiac groups, with vases, animals and birds in the subsidiary panels: it is easy to see why a composition such as that of the Aphrodisian group would perpetuate itself so readily in floor mosaics.[13] In a mosaic found in 1960 in the "Terrain Jilani Guirat" at El Jem, the floor of a house built in the late second century, a satyr with a snake frightens a maenad who is painting's reversed, half-draped counterpart of the lady from Aphrodisias. The quality of the drapery around the feet is the same, and it looks as if the sculptor's handling of the folds and edges around the slippers owed something to painting as well as to Hellenistic sculpture.[14]

The Eros is, of course, an easier figure to link with general two-dimensional parallels and a harder figure to relate to the group in marble as it is now constituted, since nearly every version of the motif varied the pose of Eros and Anteros. A particularly apt Eros, however, is seen in a mosaic from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, now in the Baltimore Museum of Art. He is standing at the upper right of the composition which deals with the famous Pompeian

[10] See the parallels discussed by R. H. Randall, Jr., "Flemish Influences on Sculpture in Spain," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XIV, 1955–1956, pp. 257–264; W. H. Forsyth, "A Spanish Medieval Relief," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIV, 1939, pp. 197–200; J. Leewengerg, "De Vlucht naar Egypte," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, IV, 1956, No. 1, pls. 16–21. Mr. T. Hoving and Mr. R. Randall provided helpful comment.

[11] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 143. Karl Lehmann's article, "The *Imagines* of the Elder Philostratus," *The Art Bulletin*, XXIII, 1941, pp. 16–44, gives a direct insight into how the painted parallel for this group would have been displayed, and the article of his student, M. L. Thompson, "The Monumental and Literary Evidence for Programmatic Painting in Antiquity," *Marsyas, Studies in the History of Art*, IX, 1960–1961, pp. 36–77, especially p. 71f., shows its application to Campanian Dionysiac themes.

[12] Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 138, No. 4; L. Foucher, *Inventaire des mosaïques*, Tunis, 1960 (Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts), pp. 98ff., No. 57.220, pl. L, b and full bibliography; dated at the beginning of the second century.

[13] K. Parlasca, *Die Römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Band 23), Berlin, 1959, pp. 75ff., pl. 72.

[14] L. Foucher, *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1960* (Institut d'Archéologie, Notes et Documents IV), Tunis, 1960, pp. 40ff., pl. XV b.

subject of the Merchant of Erotes. The mosaic is perhaps as much as a century later than the group from Aphrodisias, but it too reflects a Hellenistic work of art, as indicated by the presence of identical passages in Campanian painting.[15]

The monuments of sculpture assembled here are listed by area rather than by chronology because it is assumed they were nearly all above ground and visible to a sculptor working at Aphrodisias in the late Severan period or somewhat later. The catastrophes that affected the course of art so violently in Cilicia, Cappadocia, the Commagene and Syria did not occur until the decade after 250. After the Persian invasions art did recover rapidly, as finds at Antioch testify, but it was a question of repairing the old. What was created anew was swept by new tastes in subject and new styles which led directly to the Tetrarchs and late antiquity.[16] The generation of Asiatic catastrophe is certainly the one *after* the latest date possible for the satyr, maenad and Eros (or Anteros).

There is also the problem that not all the works listed below can be firmly dated. This matter, however, is not of first importance here, for it has been shown that the *motif involved* was very much alive in the repertory of eastern Mediterranean art at least as early as the last decades of the Roman Republic. It is also very evident and has also been suggested that the group from Aphrodisias is a copy, in the free sense, of a middle to late Hellenistic work, perhaps one by Agasias of Ephesus. In the second and third centuries, especially the latter, artists from Aphrodisias traveled east and west on commissions. Whether or not the markets were always in fit economic condition to receive new business, the sculptors from Caria did have opportunity to absorb new ideas, to study older works for copying, and to keep up with the inspiration of the past, whether that past was at Ephesus, in the Greek islands, in Athens, in North Africa or in the melting pot of Rome itself. Aside from statues, paintings and mosaics now lost, the Carian sculptor of this group had a number of sources at home and in neighboring Ionia, Lydia and Mysia from which he could draw the subjective and stylistic milieu of his creation.

1. Cyzicus (now in Istanbul): block of a frieze, perhaps related to the giant Hadrianeum.[17] Satyr and maenad, with torch; the figures are more classical, a suggestion of Hadrianic work, and the dance is very like an essay in posing Polycleitan figures. Cyriac of Ancona's drawings of the dodekatheon frieze on the temple show a satyr dancing like the Aphrodisian creature (next to Aphrodite Pandemos on her goat) and two possible maenads a little farther along, near the "three graces" or Charites in orthodox schema.[18]

[15] D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 191ff., 625, pl. XLIII, a, House of the Peddler of Erotes; *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, II, *The Excavations 1933–1936*, Princeton, 1938, p. 189f., No. 64. Levi dates the mosaic between 235 and 312. Comparisons with marble Erotes from Rome and Athens show how different, especially in the treatment of hair, is this creature from Aphrodisias; cf. the sleeping Eros-Hypnos from the Athenian Agora: *The Illustrated London News*, 11 September 1937, p. 431, fig. 8, a copy from a Hellenistic creation, and the Eros with Aphrodite in a group from the Via del Tritone in Rome: D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, Rome, 1939, p. 168, No. 23, pl. CVIII, No. 412. Also the satyr-maenad group in Athens, summary decorative work: J. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, p. 651, No. 400–2703, pl. CLXXIV.

[16] D. M. Brinkerhoff, "A Fourth Critical Period of Classical Sculpture: On a Cache at Antioch," paper read at the College Art Association Meeting, 1958. See G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, p. 749.

[17] G. Mendel, Musées impériaux ottomans, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, Constantinople, 1914, III, p. 373f., No. 1139.

[18] B. Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIX, 1956, pp. 189ff., pl. 38.

2. Teos, sculpture from the temple of Dionysos: Vitruvius attributed this temple to the ubiquitous Hermogenes, architect-impresario of the second quarter of the second century B.C.[19] Such stylistic evidence as there is tends to confirm this date for the frieze, blocks of which are in the Old Archaeological Museum of Izmir. In one scene a dancing maenad in a long gown, though not viewed from the back, foreshadows the pose and costume of the Aphrodisian maenad. In another scene the Boston maenad is half-draped and seen from the back, with right hand lowered.

3. Sardis, column capital with pine cone-crowned head of a satyr in very high relief against an abacus of egg and dart over concave dentils (*fig. 10*).[20] The carving—with an Athenian fidelity to early Hellenistic models in the satyr's head and a feeling for modeling amid touches of drill in the foliage—belongs to the Hadrianic period. The satyr does not have the look of naughty eccentricity conveyed by his counterpart in the group from Aphrodisias. In style the satyr from Sardis gives the measure of proportional distortion from a good Hellenistic norm, a variance achieved by the Carian sculptor who worked in a period when formal Hellenism had spent itself and when the art of the sarcophagus dominated style and technique. That the Sardian creature has the best sculptural pedigree, one going back to Praxiteles or Lysippos, can be seen from the fact that the same model was used for a piece of silverware from Rome, a fragment of a dish of the type of those connected with Pompeii (*fig. 11*). The silver-gilt satyr has the delicacy of metalwork from early imperial Ephesus, as opposed to the heavier, more metallic styles of the Italian workshop that produced the Boscoreale treasure, and it may be that the models for the satyr at Sardis and the silver fragment were as close together in geography as in style.[21]

4. The Tiberian forerunner of the capital from Sardis lies in the architectural decoration of Aphrodisias itself, in the satyr heads from the great Ionic portico.[22] The maenad and

[19] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1912, III, pp. 422f. (No. 3 on each page); P. W. Lehmann, *The Pedimental Sculptures of the Hieron in Samothrace*, New York, Institute of Fine Arts, 1962, p. 26, fig. 53.

[20] Sardis Inv. S59.78 (2068); width: 0.80 m. (32 inches); Neg. No. 59.46: 1–4. See *Sardis 1959*, p. 2; *Archaeology*, XII, 1959, p. 284; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis und Lydien*, Abhandlungen Mainz, 1960, No. 6, p. 36, fig. 20.

David G. Mitten has contributed the following: "The date of our satyr capital has not yet been fixed with certainty. The main building in the 'B Complex' was built no later than A.D. 165, the year when Lucius Verus' visit to Sardis was commemorated by the large dedicatory inscription found in the south apse of the south hall in the central building. The facade in the 'Marble Court' is securely dated to A.D. 211–212 by the erased reference to Geta and by a reference to Julia Domna as 'Mater Castrorum.' There is some probability that the complex East B predates the Severan facades but no exact determination is as yet possible; nor is it known whether the pre-Severan version of the 'Marble Court' had a colonnade to which some of the head-capitals (of which we have several others) might belong. The heads recovered appear to represent several periods."

[21] For the fragment of gilded silverware, see *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report for 1959*, p. 28. The western Asiatic popularity of Dionysiac figures and scenes, as portrayed on Greek imperial coins of cities such as Maeonia in Lydia, is attested to by Philostratus the Elder (*Imagines*, ed. A. Fairbanks, London, 1931 [Loeb Classical Library], I. 19, p. 78): "woven in [the sails] are golden Bacchantes on Mount Tmolus and Dionysiac scenes from Lydia" (χρυσᾶι δὲ ἐγύφανται, Βάκχαι ἐν Τμώλῳ καὶ Διονύσου τὰ ἐν Λυδίᾳ). He also states (I. 22), aptly for the satyr illustrated here, "charming is the vehemence of satyrs when they dance . . ." (Σατύρων δὲ ἡδύ μὲν τὸ σφοδρόν).

[22] G. Jacopi, *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero Romano*, X, 1939, p. 21, fig. 12; *idem*, *Monumenti Antichi*, XXXVIII, 2, p. 63, pl. 45, etc.; *idem*, "New Revelations of Roman Art in the Augustan Age," *The*

even Eros or his philosophic antithesis can be found in this curious melange of the mythological, the decorative and the real. The portico is dated by the dedication to Aphrodite, Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Livia and the People, that is in the decade and a half from 14 A.D. The heads in high relief in the frieze are strange by virtue of their choice and juxtaposition, but they provided an excellent laboratory of inspiration for later sculptors at Aphrodisias. A satyr's head, a classically modeled, well-carved portrayal like that of the Sardis pilaster, is flanked by heads of Apollo and Eros. The masses of hair are carved with a deep, decisive simplicity; the face is somewhat influenced by the styles of Pergamon in the modeling of the fold and furrows of the brow, cheeks and chin. This looks ahead through the years to the face of the satyr in the statue group. The eyes of the satyr on the Ionic portal are, of course, overtly architectural, being large and hollowed. Like Rockefeller with his oil-can on the Woolworth building, Divus Augustus's face looks out amid local heroes, athletes, women, more satyrs, Dionysos, the Gorgon and Antonia or Agrippina the Elder. There are at least two maenads in the section running beyond Dea Roma toward the theatrical masks and Sileni. A Skopasian Omphale makes an amusing contrast to the head of the Polycleitan Diadumenos. Decorative to be sure, the subjects of the frieze show how much at home the Dionysiac ensemble and Eros were in the city of the goddess of love.

5. Aphrodisias had a number of other famous friezes, potential models for a sculptor in the late Severan period. There was a gigantomachy, one of the several late Hellenistic to Antonine reflections of the altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamon.[23] There was the late Hadrianic frieze, discovered in recent years, in honor of the local citizen Zoilos, in which the principal is being crowned and attended by the personifications so beloved by the imperial cities of Asia Minor.[24] Finally, in the second quarter of the last century the French traveler Texier copied a set of reliefs devoted to Erotes; like the Zoilos frieze, which was found in clearing an ancient watercourse, they had been reused in the city walls in later times. Most feature scenes of Erotes in animal hunts, like the frieze from the Antonine theatre at Ephesus, but one section shows the simplest form of the Eros-Anteros motif, two Erotes wrestling.[25]

6. The Eros of the group considered here finds his counterparts in relief at Aphrodisias in the pillar from the Hadrianic baths, one of a pair now in Istanbul.[26] On either side of the scrolls showing labors of the infant and the youthful Herakles Erotes are placed in poses which are simply the frozen or academic versions of that interpreted by the sculptor of the freestanding group. In the freestanding group the sculptor seems to have had a wide range of freedom in choosing his models for Eros and, presumably, Anteros. The Farnese-Gardner sarcophagus shows how the Erotes could be easily reduced or altered to become mere deco-

Illustrated London News, 18 December 1937, pp. 1095ff., where the details of the heads are especially good; *Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Catalogo*, Rome, 1937, p. 168, No. 13; Squarciapino, *op. cit.*, pl. XVa, one of the satyr heads.

[23] Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, I, p. 2; the reliefs decorated a fountain near the gymnasium; Mendel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 207ff., Nos. 511–514, who notes that the reliefs were *reused* in the fountain-basin.

[24] A. Giuliano, "Rilievo da Aphrodisias in onore di Ζωΐλος," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, XXXVII–XXXVIII, 1959–1960, pp. 389–401; A. Dönmez, *The Illustrated London News*, 25 April 1959, pp. 712f., 11 figs. and captions. New fragments continue to come to light, as the slab showing Andreia ("Bravery") seated to right and holding up a shield with Gorgoneion: K. T. Erim, *Archaeology*, XV, 1962, p. 58f., fig.

[25] Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, II, p. 99f.

[26] Mendel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 179ff., esp. p. 182f.

rative adjuncts or fillers, and in the Borghese vase Eros plays no visible part in the revels. Therefore, the sculptor may well have blinked twice in the sunlight of the main streets at Aphrodisias and gone from portico to bath in conscious, or unconscious, search for the Eros (and antagonist) which became part of his ultimate composition.

7. Aphrodisian sculptors may well have been among the many who answered the call of the Plancius and Sanctus families to ornament great architectural undertakings in Pamphylia with appropriate decorations in marble. The nymphaeum at Side still stands as the perfect example of Antonine Roman arched construction and hydraulic engineering in a Greek setting.[27] In the last century a number of reliefs from the building were seen, sketched and studied. There are several which are pertinent to these arguments.[28] The Athenian group of Aphrodite and Pan, with Eros between, the Greek counterpart of the Aphrodisian ensemble (*fig. 15*), has its parallel on the nymphaeum at Side in the scene of Poseidon surprising Anymone, with Eros above and between. An Eros like the smallest figure of the Aphrodisian group busied himself in another panel by looking up in amazement (as does his confrère at Aphrodisias) at Ares and Aphrodite, arranged in the standard grouping of Hadrianic or Antonine imperial portrait-groups and, ultimately, the secondary cult group of the Augustan temple of Mars Ultor in Rome.[29] Other reliefs of the nymphaeum at Side were equally eclectic, and presumably equally suggestive to a later sculptor. The scene of the foundation of Athena's cult at Side takes one back in design to Attic fourth-century grave reliefs or to contemporary Lycian reliefs. The presentation of Demeter in her chariot, grouped with Hermes, is Pergamene in flavor, an element which persisted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the muscles of satyrs such as the one forming immediate concern.

8. Side's great late Hadrianic to Antonine theater had a balustrade of broken platforms with a frieze which, were it not for the mutilation caused by blocks of the fallen skene, would have been one of the major revelations of the Turkish excavations within the past decade. The subject is Dionysiac in the widest Greco-Roman sense of the word. The combination of extreme pictorialism and relatively low relief, considering that the figures approach life size, speaks of sculpture produced as the Hadrianic period swung into the Antonine. Among the many reveling maenads in the various scenes are several who provide verbatim prototypes in proportions and costume for the maenad from Aphrodisias.[30]

9. At Tarsus, and perhaps as an import from Aphrodisias, there stood a marble group, now in Istanbul, of Eros and Anteros supervising an impending cock fight.[31] The size of the figures is commensurate with the trio discussed here, and the Erotes are the second century

[27] A. M. Mansel, "Berichte über Ausgrabungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1946–1955," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1956, cols. 86ff.; for a reconstruction, see *Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Catalogo*, pp. 574f., No. 15, pl. CVII, top; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIX, 1955, p. 238. A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*, Berlin, 1963, pp. 60ff., fig. 44.

[28] Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, II, p. 110, Nos. 1–4.

[29] See B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano, I ritratti*, Rome, 1953, p. 119f., under No. 236.

[30] The frieze is unpublished, save for details; see M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIII, 1959, p. 80f., pl. 21, fig. 3f. The frieze of the skene in the theater at Hierapolis in Phrygia is late Antonine or Severan work of the same type, with increased frontality and decorative spacing. A satyr-maenad group can be likened in a general way to the statues from Aphrodisias. See F. Winter, in C. Humann, et al., *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Viertes Ergänzungsheft), Berlin, 1898, pp. 59ff., figs. 6, 7. (See end note.)

[31] Mendel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 278f., No. 554, dated in the second century A.D.

forerunners of the attendant at the Aphrodisian "Invitation to the Dance." At Tarsus as well as at Aphrodisias the taste for small (and possibly large) multifigured groups in marble was manifest during the imperial age. In this period of systematic copying from Hellenistic designs, the Greek cities of Asia Minor generally displayed the lifesize or smaller copies. The giant copies like the *Farnese Hercules* and the *Farnese Bull* (Punishment of Dirke) were reserved for the imperial baths in Rome. The group from Tarsus is quite unlike the heavier, more "classical" Greco-Roman style of its only counterpart, a second-century group of Anteros frightening Eros with a mask, which once stood on a table at Cobham Hall in Kent.[32]

10. Antioch-on-the-Orontes: D. M. Brinkerhoff has already called attention to the cache of sculptures found at Antioch in 1934 and their relationships to Aphrodisian workshops. Twenty-two pieces of sculpture (to quote from the excavators' report) "had been collected in antiquity and buried in a room of a rather poor villa of the late fourth or early fifth centuries A.D. that lay just outside the city wall." The sculptures comprised statues, in varying sizes, of divinities and mythological creatures, and a number of portraits, imperial and otherwise. Brinkerhoff cited the head of a young satyr with downcast glance as the complement to the head of a nymph from the well-known Hellenistic "Invitation to the Dance" group, represented in a number of replicas and reproduced on a coin of Cyzicus in the period of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (ca. 200 to 215) (*figs. 12–14*). He suggested that these two fragments of the group belonged to an Aphrodisian copy made at the same time the coins were struck.[33]

The head of the satyr from the group in Boston makes a handsome comparison with the satyr from Antioch. This comparison confirms Brinkerhoff's location of the workshops exporting sculptors or sculptures to Syria in Carian Aphrodisias. Although the maenad from the Antiochene group exhibits considerable broken drillwork in her hair, the less-broken-up effect of *her* satyr's hair suggests that the Boston group is later by any number of years from a decade to a quarter of a century. In both heads of satyrs the sculptors have carved or drilled little circles in the centers of the pupils in the somewhat almond-shaped eyes and little teeth above the slits of the lips. Other signatures of Aphrodisian work are the sharp paring of the transition from eyebrows to nose and simple grooves either side of the nose above the lips. The satyr and the maenad from Antioch are clearly copies of Hellenistic proportions; the group in Boston belongs, in spirit at least, to a later generation because Hellenistic dimensions have been distorted, especially in the faces, to create free-standing sculpture that is dependent on relief and clamors for a niche, or simply for architecture, as its setting.

These lists of parallels in one respect or another establish the group from Aphrodisias as an eastern Mediterranean work of the imperial period. The Borghese krater and the sarcophagus at Fenway Court show that the design or motif around which the sculptor fashioned his creation had gone to Italy or the Latin West during periods at least two centuries apart in the history of Roman imperium, if not on other occasions now lost to modern students of Greco-Roman art. A few other works from Italy relate to the Aphrodisian satyr, maenad and Eros. Whether they or their like influenced the group's design is very doubtful, but it is well known and has been repeated here that, for their numbers, the sculptors of Aphrodisias

[32] *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIX, 1955, p. 133, pl. 42, fig. 11.

[33] See above, note 16; *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, *The Excavations 1933–1936*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 3 (on the find), 171f., No. 138, pl. 7 (satyr), No. 127, pl. 4 (maenad, which is in Princeton, Art Museum).

were as well known in Rome as their more numerous rivals from Athens. The group discussed here may well have been carved for export to Italy (rather than, say, to Antioch), being diverted into the home market merely by some accident of financing in overseas trade or by a chance local purchase. In all cases, it is well to mention the relevant sculptures found in Italy.

A. At the left in the top register of a three-level relief in the British Museum, from the Villa Massini-Negroni-Montralto in Rome, there is a dancing pair amid a Dionysiac procession.[34] The satyr is almost kneeling as he twirls into the rhythm of his steps. The carving is very like certain decorative panels from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, work that belongs in the Antonine or even Severan phases of that vast pleasure garden.

B. A Neo-Attic architectural terracotta "Campana" relief in the Louvre, of which there are parts of replicas in London and elsewhere, shows a very open form of the dance.[35] The maenad and the satyr are advancing toward the viewer, and one holds a torch, the other a thrysos over the head just as the maenad was doing in the Aphrodisian group. The mythological excuse for this lusty scene is the education of the baby Dionysos; he appears supported in a basket of grapes between the two figures, a more active counterpart to the Aphrodisian Eros.

C. In Venice another relief develops this notion of a frontal dance, one almost achieved by viewing the satyr and the maenad from Aphrodisias separately at different angles. The Venetian relief has Herakles and Hebe, with Eros between as the subject.[36]

D. On the left end or short side of a middle Antonine to early Severan sarcophagus in Verona there is a combination of the maenad seen from the back, and half draped, and a satyr who in true Roman copyist fashion takes his stance and proportions from the Marsyas often attributed to Myron. The Dionysiac scenes as a whole, as well as in detail follow a selection of compositions and motifs made in Hellenistic painting, relief and the minor arts, especially ceramics.[37]

E. In a Roman decorative relief in Würzburg, a fragmentary scene of a satyr advancing on a maenad or nymph, her pose is a bent-over, free reversal of the Aphrodisian maenad.[38] By the time the group at Aphrodisias was created, copying in mirror reversal was a standard practice of sculptors called upon to fill pendant niches in baths, gymnasia, praetoria and houses. Fragments of a mirror reversal of the *Farnese Hercules* were found in the Severan baths, near where the celebrated statue by Glaukon of Athens was set up; a glance at the statue of Alexander Johnson Cassat, who looks so stiff and out of place opposite Mr. Rae in their niches at the end of the entrance hall at Pennsylvania Station, reveals why such pendants were ordered.[39]

[34] Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, II, p. 481, No. 1.

[35] C. M. Galey, *The Classical Myths in English Literature and Art*, Boston, 1939, p. 154, fig. 84; Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, II, p. 276, No. 2.

[36] Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, III, p. 430, No. 3.

[37] Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 435, No. 5; F. Matz, "Eine bacchische Gruppe," *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1952, No. 5, p. 390, No. 10, pl. IV. The satyr's pose recalls Marsyas in the Athenian red-figured vase-painters' transcriptions of Myron's group.

[38] Th. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, Leipzig, 1894, pl. XCIII, No. 2, then in the Kunstgeschichtliches Museum.

[39] The whole problem of pendant and mirror-image copies in Greco-Roman art merits a major study. The hall of the Muses in the baths of Faustina at Miletus, with reversed Muse types in the corner niches shows how effective the mirror copy was designed to be; see A. von Gerkan, F. Krischen, *Milet*, I, 9, p. 65, fig. 80. Here, however, the quality of many of the copies, especially the two Aphrodites, was not very high.

F. The bronze plaques known as the *Tensa Capitolina*, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, have been dated in the Severan period.[40] They give a wide range of designs and motifs available in all media in imperial Rome. Two pairs of figures in the sections (VIII) of Dionysiac dances recall the group from Caria; these sections, with their similar presentations of the Dionysiac thiasos, were certainly created from older models in painting and relief, for the Pan, satyrs, maenads and others are all stock players on the Dionysiac stage. The details in question comprise a satyr blowing the double flutes and a maenad who lifts her drapery as she trips away from him. Sarcophagi offer a number of parallels.[41]

The almost translucent treatment of surfaces in the group from Aphrodisias is an arresting feature, calling for some comment. In fact, set against the rays of the late-afternoon sun polish and carving take on an alabaster quality as they admit the light. This optic effect is generally credited to the century and a half from 140 to 290, and so it is a pan-Mediterranean feature of Antonine or Severan copying in marble. A draped statue of a seated woman, from Vasciano near Todi in Umbria and long in Boston, has been dated in the Augustan period from the execution of details of drapery.[42] The body type belongs in the late fifth century B.C., and a replica was until recently at Wilton House in Wiltshire.[43] The statue in Boston, now headless, was used twice, once after its creation and, probably as a portrait of someone else again in the second or third centuries A.D. The *beginnings* of a taste for high polish occur in this early imperial copy, and the effect of restless ends of drapery over slippered feet, seen in the Aphrodisian maenad, is also sought with success. From this woman to, say, the Conservatori bust of Commodus as Hercules, a work of the years 190 to 192, the penchant for polished surfaces in imitation of shiny bronze can be traced in an unbroken line of rising activity.[44] By the time of the group it was a standard trick or practice of portraitists, creators of small copies and carvers of sarcophagi. A portrait of the short-lived emperor Numerianus (282 to 284) in the Greek imperial style is one of the latest datable manifestations of this habit.[45] By Diocletian's time marbles such as porphyry were more widely used by those who sought high polishes, but the effect was heavier, less lifelike and, appropriately, more hieratic.[46]

[40] Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 379, section VIII; H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 179ff., No. 13, pls. 68ff., especially pls. 69a and 70b.

[41] A. L. Pietrogrande, "Sarcofago policromo con rappresentazione Bacchica," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Governatorato di Roma*, LX, 1932, pp. 177–215. Sarcophagi, such as the Severan example in the Palazzo Barbarini, also portray the dance motifs of the satyr and maenad in Boston executed by Eros and Psyche: see N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Fragment eines attischen Sarkophags," *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1959, p. 30, pl. 12.

[42] L. D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1925, p. 204f., No. 120.

[43] A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, p. 694, No. 117; *A Selected Portion of the Ancient Marbles Formed by Thomas 8th Earl of Pembroke (1654–1732)*, Christie's Sale, Wilton House, 3 July 1961, lot 140 and facing plate.

[44] M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Das Römische Herrscherbild II, 4), Berlin, 1939, p. 265f., pl. 53f.

[45] See the writer's "A Graeco-Roman Portrait of the Third Century A.D. and the Graeco-Asiatic Tradition in Imperial Portraiture from Gallienus to Diocletian," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 15, 1961, pp. 1–22.

[46] The porphyry head of a young-to-middle-aged Tetrarch, perhaps the emperor Licinius, in the find of older (late second and third century) sculptures at Antioch illustrates this shift in materials, styles

It is natural to think of Roman decorative sculpture in the late Hellenistic tradition as being common, especially in the older European collections. There are certainly many heavily restored or reworked pasticcios. In Hellenistic sculpture, in general, there are too few complete figures and too few group compositions in most Greek and Roman collections. This group is the only thing of its kind in America, and parallels abroad, other than fragments, are not common. There is, for instance, the late Hellenistic group of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros in the National Museum, Athens, already mentioned for its compositional similarity to reliefs from the nymphaeum at Side (*fig. 15*). Aphrodite is threatening a rather forward Pan with her slipper, while Eros intervenes.[47] There is also the Trajanic or Hadrianic standing satyr, with a goat beside him, in the Agora at Athens. His face is very much like the satyr of the Aphrodisian group, but the Athenian classicism of proportions and drilling in the hair adds up to a solider, less-pictorial creature. The hair is, in fact, only blocked out behind the forelocks, and beneath the nebris the body has much that recalls Polycleitos in its proportions, especially the chest and hips.[48]

So far as mythological sculpture goes, the satyr, maenad and Eros stand near the end of a long tradition in western Asia Minor. The catastrophes before and after the middle of the third century did not stop activity, as the historical reliefs of the Tetrarch period at Nicaea in Bithynia[49] and the third- or fourth-century portraits at Aphrodisias testify. One of these portraits was even found together with the late Hadrianic balustrade panels in honor of Zoilos.[50] Sculptors working for Gordianus III (238 to 244) when his legates enlarged the nymph-

and even subjects. See W. A. Campbell "Excavations at Antioch-on-the-Orontes," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XL, 1936, p. 8f.; *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, *The Excavations 1933–1936*, p. 172, No. 136, pl. 6.

[47] Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p. 147f., fig. 629f.; Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, p. 369, as a free copy of a work in the years 150 to 80 B.C.; G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 385ff., fig. 1.

[48] T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora. Second Report. The Sculpture," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 536–541; R. V. Schoder, *Masterpieces of Greek Art*, New York, 1960, No. 96. Single statues or fragments can be adduced to show the further diversity of exports from Aphrodisias. A sleeping nymph, perhaps from Salonika, belongs to the same workshop as the maenad: Mendel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 83f., No. 322; and so does an Aphrodite adjusting her sandal, from Sidon: Mendel, II, p. 76, No. 313.

[49] See H. von Schönebeck, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1937, p. 159f.; they commemorate the northeastern campaign (Alamannia) of Constantius Chlorus in 298 and must come from a monument designed as pendant to the arch of Galerius at Salonika. Also A. M. Schneider, "Die Römischen und Byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea," *Istanbuler Forschungen*, XVI, 1943. *Festschrift Goessler*, p. II.

[50] A. Dönmez, *The Illustrated London News*, 25 April 1959, p. 712f., fig. 3, shows the head of a priest or philosopher found about the same time as the Zoilos reliefs; he is of the period about 225 and resembles the most ideal conceptions of Socrates. Besides the statues and inscriptions honoring fourth-century emperors at Aphrodisias (e.g. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*, No. 2744), there were the six marble tondo busts once in the Evangelist School at Smyrna (*Einzelaufnahmen*, Nos. 3204 to 3208 and text; Squarciapino, *op. cit.*, p. 77f., pl. R); destroyed in the tragedy of 1922, they included the Menander, a philosopher who resembled Julian the Apostate, a city-goddess like Constantinopolis on coins of ca. 340–350, and a Constantinian youth. The carving of these busts was surprisingly like excellent late Hadrianic work. The Valentinianus II in Istanbul (H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo, 1933, p. 40, No. 94; R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 195ff., pl. 92; Mendel, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 199ff., No. 506) was found in the east entrance of the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias and had an Arcadius as pendant; Hadrianic ladies and two fourth-century municipal magistrates (Mendel, Nos. 507, 508) stood nearby. At Aphrodisias, as at Side, fourth-century officials must have placed earlier imperial and Hellenistic sculptures in new settings, such as in the niches of gates or fortifications. For the Nikai thus used at Side, see Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LX, 1956, p. 379, pl. 123, fig. 17.

aeum at Miletus may have created new copies of the Praxitelean to Hellenistic sculptures traditionally used in nymphaea, but sculptures made in the Antonine or Severan periods may have been pressed into service in the decoration of this building.[51] The emphasis after 250 was on portraits, statues and busts. Sarcophagi of the columnar Asiatic or Sidamara type were in production from the islands in the sea of Marmara to Cilicia and Cappadocia. In a sense freestanding sculpture and portraiture met in the grandest of these sarcophagi, where portraits of the deceased covered the lid and filled the principal niches. On the bodies of Asiatic sarcophagi the portraits were flanked by almost-freestanding statues in niches, statues which had all, and more, of the flattened distortion of the Aphrodisian satyr and maenad.[52]

Appendix

Reflections or copies of the Satyr-Maenad composition on gems and pastes:

1. Berlin, green paste, "Konvex später römisch: Satyr und Nymphe tanzend, letztere in einem Kallipygos ähnlichen Motiv." The workmanship is crude, and it is difficult to tell how much drapery the maenad wears. Eros (and Anteros) are missing because there is no room for them in an oval ringstone. The group is seen from the right front (A. Furtwängler, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1896, p. 133, No. 2953).

2. Formerly Museo Strozzi, cameo in chalcedony: this stone was published by Gori after Zannoni but was not among the gems Gori later recorded in the Strozzi collection in Florence and is now lost (S. Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, Paris, 1895, p. 46, pl. 44, Nos. 92–3). A free version of the group is seen from the back, with the satyr clad in a nebris and the maenad partly draped. A satyr and a Silen make music on either side. This stone, presumably ancient or based on an ancient model as the style seems good, suggests that there were other Roman imperial versions of the group in bronze or marble, freestanding statues that could be viewed from the rear by a designer of cameos.

In Byzantine art:

1. On the left end of the Bellerophon panel of the Veroli Casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum, work of the tenth or early eleventh centuries, there is a free mirror reversal of the group. Eros and Anteros are there, the former tickling (or removing a thorn from) the foot of the female and the latter flying at her with a Silenus mask on his face (D. Talbot Rice, M. Hirmer, *The Art of Byzantium*, New York, 1959, p. 315, No. 109; A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X bis XIII Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1931, I, No. 21; K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1951, p. 177f.). The scene has been interpreted as Paris holding a horse in readiness to abduct Helen (C. T. Seltman, *Approach to Greek Art*, London, 1948, pl. 108).

Further relations of the Satyr-Maenad composition to literature:

1. In the description by Christodorus of Thebes (in Egypt) of the bronze statues in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos at Constantinople (532 A.D.), the *Amymone and Poseidon* shows how illogical arbitrary groupings in late antiquity could be, a contrast to the planned relationship of the satyr, maenad and

[51] E. S. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, New York, 1928, II, p. 165; Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1920, V, 1; J. Hülsen, *Milet*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1919, V, 5, p. 53f.; *Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Catalogo*, p. 574, No. 14, pl. CIII, left, a reconstruction with the statuary in place.

[52] I wish to thank Miss Mary B. Comstock and Miss Julia T. Green for their collaboration in the preparation of this paper. The photographs of the Aphrodisian group are mostly by Mr. Edward J. Moore. Mr. David G. Mitten provided those of the capital from Sardis, together with information on its provenience and possible dates. Mr. Richard Stillwell and Miss Frances F. Jones made the Antioch parallels available. Mr. D. M. Brinkerhoff's typescript of the paper mentioned in note 16 has been of the greatest assistance. Note: The theater at Side is now treated in some detail in A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*, pp. 122ff.; frieze: fig. 116f.

Eros. The theme of Dionysiac figures flanked by Eros and Anteros is a contrast to the third century (Septimius Severus founded the gymnasium) or later canonization of a fountain nymph, known in numerous replicas, as Amymone and a Lysippic Poseidon as the bringer of suitor's gifts in the form of a "dripping dolphin" (καὶ διερὸν δελφῖνα προΐσχετο). Christodorus had to use all his ingenuity to explain the combination that placed a dolphin between divine passion and its objective (see W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, 1939, I, Book II, pp. 63–65). An intaglio published by Gravelle in the 1730's shows how such a composition, with Eros included, could be made in the manner of the satyr group; Poseidon advances from the left and holds a trident, where our satyr clutches his pedum: Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, pl. 75, No. 2.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 1. Satyr, maenad and Eros, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

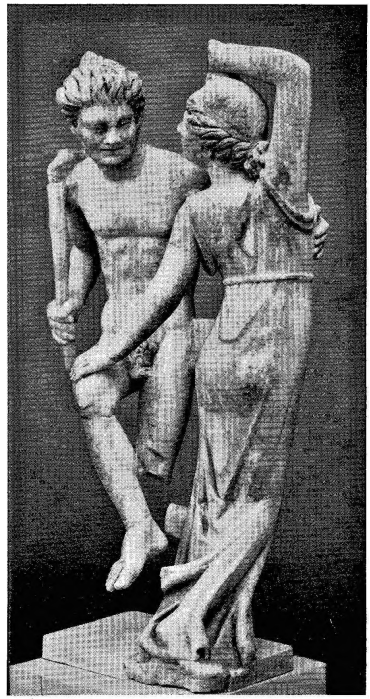

Fig. 2. Satyr and maenad, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 3. Eros, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

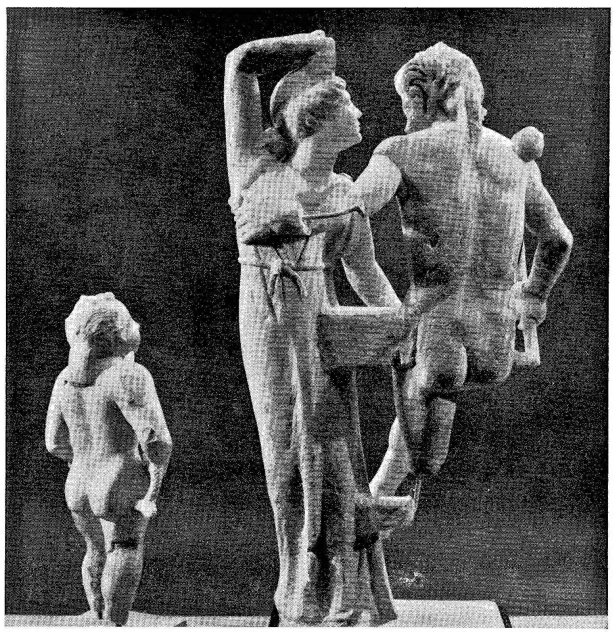

Fig. 4. Satyr, maenad and Eros, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

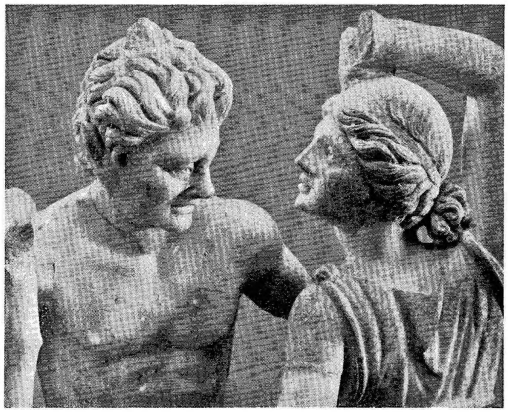

Fig. 5. Detail of satyr and maenad, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 6. Detail of satyr and maenad, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

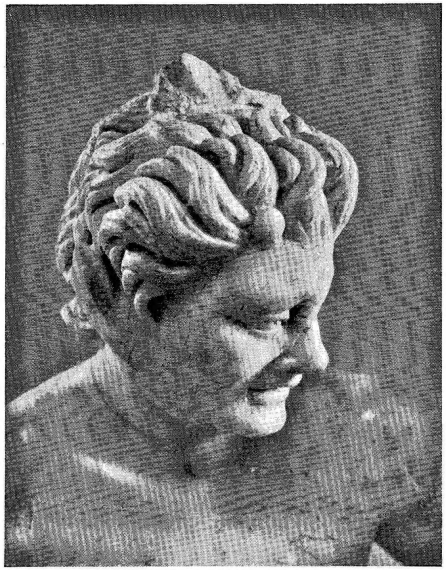

Fig. 7. Head of the satyr, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 8. Head of the maenad, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

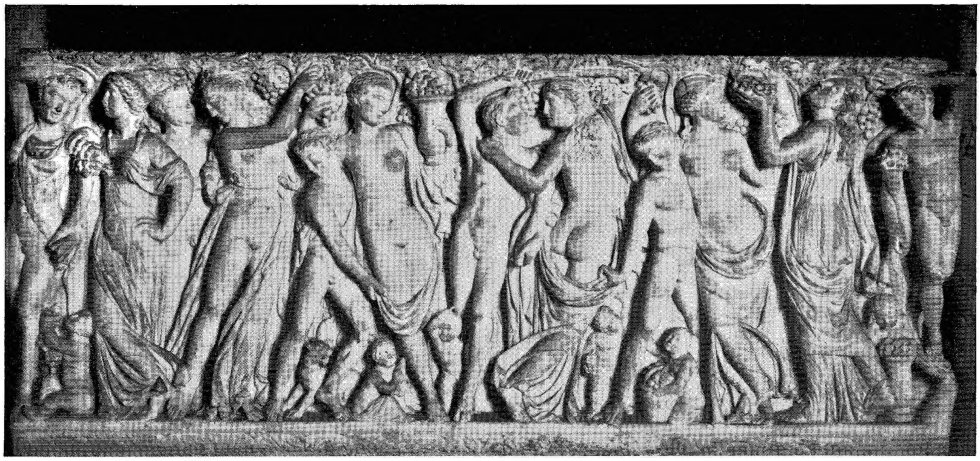

Fig. 9. Sarcophagus with Dionysiac scenes, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 10. Head of a satyr, Roman capital from Sardis.
(*Photo: Courtesy of the Archaeological Expedition of Sardis.*)

Fig. 11. Silver-gilt fragment with head of a satyr, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

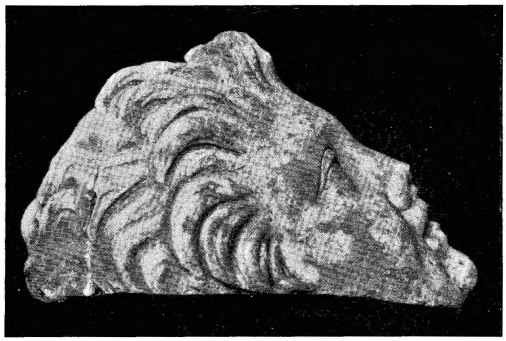

Fig. 12. Head of a satyr, from Antioch.
(*Photo: Courtesy of the Committee for the Excavations of Antioch, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*)

Fig. 13. Head of a maenad, from Antioch.
(*Photo: Courtesy of the Committee for the Excavations of Antioch, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*)

Fig. 14. Head of a maenad, from Antioch.
(*Photo: Courtesy of the Committee for the Excavations of Antioch, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*)

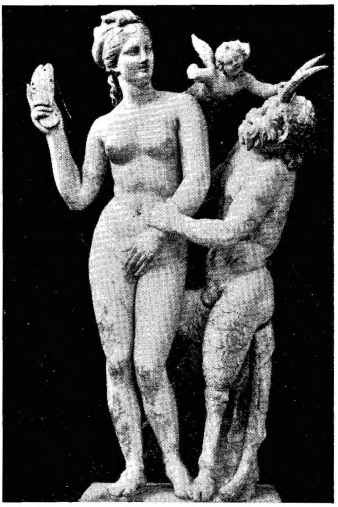

Fig. 15. Aphrodite, Eros and Pan, Athens, National Museum.